McCARRAN ACT ENFORCEMENT STAYED: TEXT OF BLACK DISSENT Pp. 6-7

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BUCHENWALD MEMORIAL: A TRIBUTE TO FASCISM'S VICTIMS
This monument stands as a counterpoint to the testimony of Adolf Eichmann in the courtroom in Jerusalem. For a portrait of Eichmann, see p. 3.

PRESSURE ON INTEGRATION LEADERS

Washington seeks to apply the brakes to Freedom Riders

By Joanne Grant

WHILE FREEDOM RIDERS continued to pour into Jackson, Miss., the Kennedy Administration seemed to be stepping up its pressure on integrations leaders to halt the Rides.

Three events during the week of June 19 indicated that the Administration was attempting to disengage itself from the militant aspects of the struggle which has drawn worldwide publicity.

• **It was announced that in a conference with Negro and white integration leaders on June 16, Atty. Gen.** Robert Kennedy had suggested that the movement concentrate on voter registration. He told the group that he thought the bus riders had made their point.

• President Kennedy announced his **plan to appoint William Howard Cox,** a close friend of Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) to a Federal judgeship in Mississippi. Medgar Evers, NAACP field representative in Mississippi said: "The only difference between Cox and Eastland is that Cox is not a U.S. Senator and thus does not get his name splashed across the front pages."

• **On an NBC television program, "JFK Special Report," June 20, the Attorney General said that in view of the** pending ICC ruling on desegregation of travel facilities, actions now "don't make a great deal of sense." He added: "And I think a lot of people—I might be quite frank with you—I think a good number never got their names in the paper before. Nobody paid any attention to them before—and suddenly they can take a trip through one of these states—and suddenly get a great deal of publicity and a great deal of attention. And they can come back to their communities and make speeches and get in national magazines and get a lot of attention paid to them, and maybe they never had that before and they enjoy it."

The N.Y. **Amsterdam News** commented June 24: "Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy goes from bad to worse to outrageous when he repeats his request that Negro and white demonstrators cool off by calling off the Freedom Rides 'because they have made their point.' . . . If Mr. Kennedy really wants the Freedom Rides stopped, all he has to do is to enforce the law of the land."

THE TIMES STORY: The Attorney General's statements, coupled with a front-page New York **Times** story (June

(Continued on Page 8)

Eight pages next week

The GUARDIAN will appear next week, and through the summer, in its summertime eight-page edition. We will return to our regular 12-page edition shortly after Labor Day. Have a good summer, and make sure the GUARDIAN follows you wherever you go.

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MANIFESTO AT CHICAGO CONFERENCE

America's Indians speak up

By Lawrence Emery

OLIVER LA FARGE, noted authority on American Indian affairs, wrote recently that "the temper of American Indians has reached the boiling point."

One symptom of this high temperature was an eight-day American Indian Chicago Conference held on the campus of the University of Chicago from June 13 to June 20. It was attended by 420 Indian delegates, representing 67 tribes, and by a large number of non-Indian observers and advisers. It adopted a "Declaration of Indian Purpose" and its goal was nothing less than a complete overhaul of the government's attitude and relationship to the Indian population.

Dr. Sol Tax, UC professor of anthropology who conceived the conference and spent six months organizing it, called it "a major event in the history of our country" and said:

"For the first time . . . it will be Indians expressing themselves, and making their own plans and the rest of us listening. If the voice of the American Indian is united, it will be listened to and heard. Right now the country is at a crossroads in Indian affairs, so that what Indians say now is especially important."

POVERTY PREVAILS: The material assembled in preparation for the confer-

(Continued on Page 10)

Alliance for progress or the old alliance for misery?

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S traveling salesman Adlai Stevenson returned June 22 from 18 days on the Latin American road with scant orders for his anti-Cuba merchandise. In a ten-nation tour he offered to trade U.S. aid for inter-American action against Premier Castro, but few were willing to deal. U.S. dollars looked good to all—aid requests totaled $3 billion—but there was a general reluctance to move against Cuba.

Stevenson reported privately to President Kennedy June 23, but he made his views public through inspired leaks to the New York **Times** and the Associated Press and then in a press conference. He discovered that the U.S. has lost considerable standing in Latin America as a result of the Cuba invasion fiasco, but he believes the damage can be repaired by substantial economic aid. U.S. plans for a political conference of the Organization of American States to act against Cuba, he concluded, depend on the success of an inter-American meeting in Uruguay scheduled for later this summer.

Despite his optimism on eventual support for actions against Cuba, Stevenson said: "I think the principle of non-intervention is a religion in Latin America." The New York **Times** reported: "The big trouble, he feels, is that the governments are timid in face of widespread public support of Fidel Castro's Cuban regime as a genuine social revolution."

ANOTHER "BIG TROUBLE" is that economic conditions have worsened steadily, making the governments friendly to Washington considerably less stable. The Cuban revolution set an example for poverty-stricken peasants and they have begun to challenge landowners and politicians. In the cities, organized workers, also spurred by the Cuban successes, have demonstrated with new vigor.

Previous U.S. aid has been no help for the average Latin American's woes. In Bolivia, for example, where the U.S. has poured $150,000,000, the average annual income is less than $100. Much of the aid went to perpetuating repressive regimes and into the pockets of those already in control of the nation's wealth. Little filtered down to the half-starving rural populace.

Feudalism still rules in much of the hemisphere. Landlords grow rich from peasant labor while they pay no taxes, misuse the land and resist efforts to develop government-financed social services. In addition, some economies are based on exports of one crop or one commodity. A drop in world prices sends the country into economic chaos.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S "Alliance for Progress" ostensibly is to offer economic aid to those countries which undertake economic and social reforms to curb the power of the landlords, develop short- and long-term economic plans and institute social services.

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

He'd hit back

YARMOUTH, MAINE

The Freedom Riders assume that they should "turn the other cheek" when attacked by Southern hoodlums. I have checked on this carefully and this is what I found in my Family Expositor of the New Testament by Philip Doddridge, D.D., 1833:

"To turn the other cheek applies to the common, ordinary things of life.

"If any man sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.

"And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain."

The Freedom Riders did not go into Alabama properly prepared to defend themselves and there were too few in number. Send a group of men who are able to handle themselves in a rough tumble and properly implemented for the occasion. No women.

Chester E. Thompson

A great week end

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

In spite of competition from the Moiseyev dancers, the Warehousemen's strike, a coast-wise labor conference, and chicken pox, the long-heralded GUARDIAN week end at Monte Toyon brought 159 eager campers of all ages to this wonderful, secluded camp among the towering Coast Redwoods. Enthusiasm demanded that the affair be made an annual event, and the camp is already engaged for the same last - week - of - school date next year.

Most of the towns up and down the peninsula were represented, as well as San Francisco and the East Bay; one carload came from Los Angeles, and a visiting reader from Michigan dropped in.

The cooking was superb, the surroundings inspiring, and the net practical result—more than $1,000 to help speed correspondents Goshal and Belfrage on their journeys—a source of general satisfaction.

Margaret and Hal Driggs

Shock on a tour

BURBANK, CALIF.

On a recent trip to New York I took an excursion boat around Manhattan Island to view the sights. I never did see them when I actually lived in the big town many years ago. Typical, isn't it?

The guide on the boat, which was loaded with school children on an outing, was pointing out the sights. When he pointed out the Foley Square Court House, I was shocked beyond belief when he announced over a mike that, "Here at this Federal Court House the traitors—the Rosenbergs, Greenglass and other spies against our country—were tried and convicted."

When an opportunity came up, I approached the guide and pointed out that millions of people all over the world, as well as in our country, believed in their innocence. He stared at me with a hard look and asked if I was a "Red" sympathizer.

J. S.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Resumed American testing will give Minute Man the stronger warhead which the scientific dissenters originally called for; and it will greatly increase Polaris efficiency too. But this is not all resumed testing will do. It will open the way for American development of neutron-flux bombs—the better, brighter weapons of the future, which will merely kill all living things within their range, while leaving intact all valuable inanimate objects, such as cannon, factories, and apartment houses.

—Joseph Alsop's column in the San Fernando **Valley Times TODAY**, June 17.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L. W., Canoga Park, Calif.

Dissent

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Alvah Bessie, in the Spectator (May 1) selects as best original screenplay "Never on Sunday" as a proper choice for an Oscar.

A theme glorifying a prostitute to the extent of making her a goddess to whom a whole community of men offers a worshipful homage, is one to which a progressive paper should take deep exception.

Miriam Stern

The new fiddler

CAYUCOS, CALIF.

He plays his fiddle to the pretty tune
Of satellites and man upon the moon,
And foreign countries we must fight to free
While Rome burns in Montgomery.

Trading us circuses for sacrifice,
He seeks to fiddle for a giant price.
The billion-dollar moon he offers us
Who asked for tickets on the Freedom Bus.

One man upon our earth is black, one white,
And so one man is wrong and one is right.
Sunk in decadence, shame, deceit and strife,
We go to teach the moon our way of life!

Kathryn Peck

Sweet praise

QUEENS, N.Y.

When I was a youngster, during the latter years of depression, we worked our way up (or should I say down) from a fourth-floor walk-up to a house with a tiny patch of yard in front. My mother couldn't read the instructions on the seed packet, but somehow managed to grow a gorgeous rose bush. All of the roses were beautiful, but one somehow, was more perfect even, than the rest—and delighted me.

Such is the May 1 issue of the GUARDIAN. A precious thing, special, among all your splendid issues.

Lee Brick

Honoring a rebel

ERWIN, TENN.

I see where our ever-so-hard-up Post Office Dept. is putting out stamps honoring Gen. Robert E. Lee and the firing of the first shot against the U.S. Government and flag at Fort Sumter.

Why not put one out honoring King George III? Also Faubus?

Ernest Seeman

A student friend

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.

I have found the GUARDIAN invaluable this year. Having been in Cuba for several weeks, I know that Cedric Belfrage's reporting has been both accurate and informative. The recent coverage of events in Asia has been superb. In general, I am very pleased and will try to interest other students when the fall semester begins.

Name Withheld

Dale McFetters in the Pittsburgh Press
"And the same to you—whoever you are!"

Praise for Wesley

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The commentary on our government's foreign policy by David Wesley in the June 26 issue of the GUARDIAN was a brilliant and perceptive piece of writing. It is hard to find a writer with such a cognizance of today's problems coupled with such an array of constructive solutions. Mr. Wesley should be congratulated.

Stephen Josephs

W. C. Randolph

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

GUARDIAN readers in the Bay Area of the Florida West Coast will mourn the recent death of W. C. Randolph while on a visit to his birthplace near Texarkana, Tex. He was 57. A militant progressive, active integrationist, and Marxist scholar, Bill was instrumental in bringing prominent speakers, including Scott Nearing and Maud Russell, to St. Petersburg. Shortly before his death he helped organize in Tampa an active chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. His resourcefulness, humor and fearlessness are greatly missed.

Bernard Raymund
Friends of W. C. Randolph

Toasted liberals

AGENCY, IOWA

The liberals of yesteryear—
They were a half-baked lot;
They grew in soil enriched too much
With plutocratic rot.
Just where are now the liberals
In whom we placed our trust?
In ovens of the New Frontier,
Baked to a dark-brown crust.

M. Warder

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

IN NINE WEEKS of hearings before a three-man panel of the Subversive Activities Control Board to determine if the Communist Party must register as a foreign agent under the McCarran Act, the government has called four witnesses. The fourth is not yet finished. A professional informer like the other three, Paul Crouch was proved a perjurer in recent trial of West Coast labor leader Harry Bridges; newspaper reports and other evidence showed Bridges could not have been at a CP meeting where Crouch swore he saw him . . .

Government attorneys have concerned themselves with their witnesses' recollections of 25 and 30 years ago, against defense arguments that none of the testimony is relevant to the present law and, if allowed to stand, makes the McCarran Act an **ex post facto** law.

Still hanging over the SACB is lack of Senate confirmation which, the defense insists, keeps it subservient to Sen. Pat McCarran and makes a fair hearing impossible.

—From the National Guardian, July 4, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Alliance for what?

(Continued from Page 1)

Although the need to bring Latin America into the 20th Century has been apparent for years, the plan was not developed until after the Cuban revolution. Actually, the program is designed to forestall other "Castro-type" revolutions.

The plan gave Stevenson an attractive selling pitch to most Latin American leaders, but "Alliance for Progress" is really little more than a slogan. Congress has appropriated no more than the $500,000,000 Eisenhower asked for and which was not appropriated until after the Cuba invasion fiasco. Further appropriations are in doubt since there is considerable reluctance to accept the Administration's $7.3 billion foreign aid program.

There also are widely varying views in Washington as to how money should be spent in Latin America. To some in the Administration the "Alliance for Progress" means promoting peaceful social revolution in Latin America. But to others this is pie in the sky. Defense Secy. Robert McNamara and Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, asked Congress to lift the ceiling on military aid to Latin America so that arms for "internal security" could be supplied.

OTHERS DISDAIN altruistic aid in favor of investments that will pay political dividends. The New York **Herald Tribune** reported: "Instead of spreading aid dollars around the southern half of the globe indiscriminately, Kennedy aid-men hope to concentrate on selected high-priority targets—in Latin America, for example, on Brazil, which has a common border with all but two of the countries of South America . . . If Brazil can be made a viable democratic state with a reasonably bright future, its influence will become progressively more significant on its neighbors. . . . In other words, how Brazil goes, so goes South America."

No one view seems to prevail in the Administration and no one official is responsible for Latin America. The post of Asst. Secy. of State for Latin America went begging for almost three months. After Carl Spaeth, dean of the Stanford Law School, had been announced for the post last month, he turned it down. President Kennedy quickly came up with Robert F. Woodward, a career diplomat. Clearly it is a sticky assignment with no set policy and without authority.

William Shannon in the New York **Post** warned that there is "real danger of new disillusionment and a deepening cynicism among Latin Americans" when they discover the lack of policy behind the "Alliance for Progress" slogan. For most Latin Americans cynicism is not in the future: they already distrust the scheme. The Socialist Party of Chile declared that "the Alliance for Progress that Stevenson is trying to negotiate is nothing but a new edition of the old alliance for misery that U.S. imperialism has exported to Latin America for the last 100 years."

Ariel Bolivar Collazo, an Uruguayan Congressman from the National Party, said it was the U.S. purpose "to offer to national oligarchies their dollars in exchange for support of a multilateral intervention in Cuba." He said that there were some reactionary Latin American governments that would go along with the plan. But he said they will face "popular mobilizations to stop it."

LATIN AMERICAN CYNICISM over U.S. motives is likely to deepen with the emergence of Colombia as the prime advocate of the "Alliance." President Alberto Lleras Camargo dispatched Foreign Minister Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala to Panama, Brazil and Peru to sell a plan for a meeting of OAS foreign ministers. He proposes an ultimatum to Cuba: End relations with the U.S.S.R. and China or lose independence protections afforded by inter-American treaties. Turbay told a visiting Cuban mission that Cuba must live up to the OAS charter, which pledges member states to representative democracy as a form of government.

Since 1948, by official records, 300,000 Colombians have been killed by the army in a war to pacify the peasantry. Armed peasants (guerilleros) have driven landlords off large estates and have withstood bombings and infantry attacks to control large areas of the country. Carleton Beals reported in the May issue of **The Independent** that these areas "are now ringed by police and troops in a massive build up—troops trained for guerrilla action by the U.S. military mission. Planes piloted by U.S. officers have been mapping the areas . . . from the air. A joint Colombian army, Pentagon and CIA putsch seem to be in the making."

If this is the progress the Administration's alliance proposes, there is little doubt Latin America will prefer to try it Cuba's way.

—THE GUARDIAN

EICHMANN IMPERTURBABLE AT TRIAL

Exhibit 1: The portrait of a mass murderer

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent
JERUSALEM

THE AIR-CONDITIONED courtroom in Jerusalem where Adolf Eichmann is on trial has an almost antiseptic quality—calm, cool, reminiscent of a lecture hall in a medical school. Early in the trial it was amost impossible to imagine that anyone would raise his voice here, or lose his composure. The man in the glass cage seems like Exhibit 1—an interesting specimen for interns to study.

Even when, in the opening days, Attorney General Gideon Hausner read the charges—read them for hours on end—the spectators remained calm and the Exhibit was almost motionless, for who can think in terms of six million dead—three times the population of the entire state of Israel? Figure followed figure, and the dead appeared like a pyramid of statistics. But three weeks after the trial started there was a sudden commotion in the gallery. A spectator stood up. Pointing his finger at Eichmann, Zvi Sheffer, 41, a survivor of the holocaust, screamed, "Bloodhound. Bloodhound! Let me kill him with my own hands. He killed all my family."

ALWAYS ALOOF: Every eye was turned to the gallery as the policemen hustled the man out. Only Eichmann himself meticulously averted his gaze from the gallery, staring at the bench as before.

Nothing seems to affect him—not the tales of burning people alive, nor the tearing of babies to pieces limb by limb as if they were rags.

Day by day he sits there in his glass box, turning, as Patrick O'Donovan of the London **Observer** put it, "his glass-walled dock into a sort of crowded, cozy little office . . . He makes swift notes and busies himself with neat files and piles of documents—almost as if he were back in the good old days of administration" when the initials A. E. on a slip of paper would spell death for thousands and tens of thousands.

A DESCRIPTION: Sometimes one wonders—what does he think of when he smiles his cynical smile, as if the worst of the evidence were malicious slander and defamation, too childish to warrant contradiction? One recalls the description his assistant, Dieter Wisliceny, gave during the Nuremberg trials:

"Eichmann was personally a cowardly man who went to great pains to protect himself from responsibility. He never made a move without approval from higher authority and was extremely careful to keep files and records establishing the responsibilty of Himmler, Heydrich and, later, Kaltenbrunner . . .

"Eichmann was very cynical in his attitude toward the Jewish question . . . He was not immoral; he was amoral and ice cold in his attitude. He said to me on the occasion of our last meeting in February, 1945, at which time we were discussing our fate upon losing the war: 'I [will] laugh when I jump into the grave because of the feeling that I have killed five million Jews. That gives me great satisfaction and gratification."

HANDS A CLUE: As one looked at the Exhibit in his cage, even those words seemed hollow and fantastic as they were read in court. The prisoner, neat in his custom-tailored suit, listened expressionless. His complexion is sallow, his hair is thinning on top, like that of any minor bureaucrat who spends most of his time bent over his desk. But, in imagination, put on his uniform and adjust his cap with the SS insignia of cross and bones and the face begins to take on an almost intolerable meanness that fits the words read into the record.

ADOLF EICHMANN
'A stranger to the human race'

It is his hands, rather than his face, that give a clue to the personality which is the perversion of all we consider human. Eichmann's hands speak a language all their own. Sometimes they twiddle, but most of the time they lie one on top of the other, cramped, contracted, confined, like animals in a cage. Professional criminals learn to control their facial muscles, but never their hands, because hands respond instinctively. What eyes may hide, the hands give away. These hands drum slightly, inaudibly, in the sound-proofed glass box.

These are the hands whose cramped signature made all of Europe tremble. These hands opened the inferno, switched on the button in the gas chambers, condemned millions to torture. These fingers put down individual names for **Sonderbehandlung**—special treatment—and signed anonymous lists of tens of thousands for speedy extermination. These fingers wrote to the commander of Auschwitz: "The daily figure of victims must not be allowed to decrease."

LIKE BANK CLERK: Aside from his hands, Eichmann has nothing unusual in his appearance. Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor, U.S.A. retired, chief prosecutor at Nuremberg, observed: "During my four years at Nuremberg, I saw some 200 Nazis. When Eichmann walked into the courtroom, he looked like the two hundred and first. It revealed to me again that a Nazi officer out of uniform is generally a drab-looking person. If anything, he looks like a middle-aged bank clerk."

Oxford's Hugh Trevor-Roper, British historian, added: "What is most striking about Eichmann is his utter meanness. He is extremely ordinary except that his face is mean; then there is something empty in it . . . One is struck by the utter worthlessness of the Nazis as human beings."

'A NOTHING': Niron Sima, Israel painter, said: "The murderer of six million people one imagines to be a cruel zero. Thus I was prepared to see a nothing. I saw a nothing."

Homer Bigart of the New York **Times** compared Eichmann to a "corpse." And writer Harry Golden found him "a stranger to the human race." Perhaps this last comment sums it up. His ordinariness is the mask behind which the utter monstrosity is hidden. The Nazis, instead of being supermen, turned out to be sub-humans—strangers to the human race.

DID PARIS DELIBERATELY WRECK THE CONFERENCE?

Why the French-Algerian peace talks collapsed

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent
PARIS

ON JUNE 14 THE DEADLOCKED French-Algerian peace talks at Evian-les-Bains were suspended for an indefinite period, at the insistence of the French delegation. The talks had been secret, but from the press statements on both sides, it appears that the future status of the Sahara was the principal obstacle to an agreement.

Rather than why, the first question to ask is how the Evian negotiations could be permitted to fail. When the conference finally got under way on May 20, it seemed a foregone conclusion that it could not be permitted to end in anything less than a partial agreement, with a door open to ultimate peace. Failure, or half-failure, seemed unthinkable. The long, secret preparations and contacts between the two groups, since last February, seemed a guarantee that at least some area of agreement had been found. Otherwise, it was argued, the conference would not have been arranged in the first place.

DE GAULLE SKEPTICAL: Rumors now have it that both the French and the Algerian delegations were skeptical from the start. President de Gaulle himself, it seems, did not believe much in a success at Evian. The weekly **Express** reports this comment by an Algerian negotiator a week before the conference started: "We are in agreement on nothing. We don't even know what we are going to discuss. We are going to Evian simply so that international opinion can be the judge."

But more revealing than such reports is the spirit in which the French delegation got the conference started. For Paris the first objective apparently was to win a tactical victory. This it did when at the opening session, it announced a one-month unilateral truce in Algeria. This gave France a propaganda headstart before world opinion. But it set off a fatal chain reaction which ran like this:

Canard Enchaine, Paris
"Should we call this integration or self-determination?"

- The Algerians argued that a truce cannot be unilaterally imposed but must be achieved by political negotiations.
- A negotiated truce, which could have become the first positive conference result, was blocked. Such a truce would have been a gesture of recognition of the Algerian Provisional Government as a full-fledged member of the conference.
- To counter the French maneuver, the National Liberation Front (FLN) responded with increased activity, both military and terrorist.
- The fresh terrorism hardened French public opinion on the right, and spread confusion among the rest of the people.

This chain reaction could and should have been foreseen by Paris. Was this miscalculation, or intentional error?

SAHARA ISSUE: The French decolonization plan, Algerian delegation leader Belkacem Krim said in his June 15 Geneva press conference following the Evian interruption, offered us "an Algeria amputated of 4/5th of its territory . . . whose riches would have been lost to the Algerians. Do you think the Algerian people have made the sacrifices they did in order finally to accept a state that would respond to none of the conditions required for it to exist?"

Without going into details of the Evian negotiations, let us take the vital Sahara issue as a test point. (That it would be a decisive item on the peace talk agenda was pointed out in the March 20 GUARDIAN.)

The Sahara question has become a political one: To what country will the Sahara belong in a 'decolonized" North Africa? What with the future independent Algeria's economic and technical underdevelopment, a multi-national exploitation of the Sahara oil, under certain conditions, would probably not be opposed by the future Algerian government. But it is apparent that, without the Sahara politically and administratively as part of its territory, the new Algerian state would be deprived of the mainstay of its economic existence and hence its real independence.

It has been obvious from the start that the Algerians would make no basic concession on this. The French delegation was expected to take the whole issue out of the political realm into the economic, where an agreement would be fairly easy to reach. Nothing of the sort has happened. Was this miscalculation on the part of Paris, or conscious preparation of a conference failure?

DANGER OF PLOT: One thing added to another leads once again to the picture of de Gaulle holding onto his own brand of Algerian "independence," and determined to see to it that an Algeria closely tied to France comes out of the proposed self-determination ballot.

Failure at Evian would almost certainly lead not only to renewed war and terrorism, but to new plotting by French rightists. The frustrated generals and colonels, the plotting Ultras and fascists of all shades, in Algeria and in France, have taken comfort in the mild (5, 10 and 15-year) prison terms meted out after the generals' putsch last April. The Evian deadlock is better still: To them it is confirmation that they were right all along, that there is no coming to terms with the FLN.

The OAS (the Ultras' secret army organization) is already playing with tracts and explosives, waiting and preparing. Some of the leading military men of the April putsch are still in flight. Everything points to another putsch in Algeria if the war is not stopped soon.

Le Monde, warning that time will play "against peace, against reason, against common sense," dreams of "some sort of shock" that would break all distrust and obstinacy. **Express,** in a bitter editorial, foresees other massacres before 'the irresistable force of events," as the pro-government press puts it, leads to a final settlement.

Rights group's office in L.A. is burglarized

THE OFFICE OF THE Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, 555 N. Western Ave., was burglarized June 5. Nature of the missing items indicates an attempt to disrupt the committee's civil liberties work, which includes the campaign to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Citizens Committee's secretary is Frank Wilkinson, who is also field representative of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC. On May 1, Wilkinson and Carl Braden began serving one-year terms for contempt of Congress in refusing to answer Un-American Committee questions in 1958.

A police investigation is under way. The FBI declined to enter the case on grounds the incident was a local police matter. Some months ago both the office and the Wilkinson home were bombed.

Help your friends become as informed as you are—send them a sub—$1 for 13 wks.

8 PACIFISTS JAILED

Polaris protests to be pressed in New England

NEW LONDON, CONN.

THE New England Committee for Non-violent Action has announced that it will increase opposition to Polaris-armed submarines despite sentencing of eight supporters in Federal Court for attempting to "interfere" with the vessels.

Judge Robert Anderson in New Haven on June 19 sentenced seven of the eight pacifists to prison terms ranging from 20 days to four years. Sentence was suspended on the eighth. All were placed on five years' probation.

To Anderson's surprise, 50 persons rose in the courtroom when he asked the defendants—seven of whom were less than 21 years old—to stand and receive sentence. About 20 remained standing in solidarity with the eight. Some had signed a statement to Anderson implicating themselves in the anti-Polaris activities and had urged the government to give them the same sentence. No action was taken against these persons.

DEMONSTRATION SET: "Neither prison sentences nor intimidation by the military will deter our moral protest against war as symbolized by the Polaris

submarine," said Mrs. Marjorie Swann, a leader of the Polaris Action project. "Our next demonstration will be at the commissioning of the submarine Thomas Edison this summer."

The court action followed a civil disobedience demonstration in which three volunteers attempted to obstruct the launching of the Thomas Edison at the General Dynamics Electric Boat shipyards in Groton.

Police harassment, building up since the demonstrations began one year ago, reached the high-water mark as one pacifist was about to launch his canoe toward the 410-foot Edison. An officer ran over and demanded his bill of sale to prove ownership.

HE'S 'SUSPICIOUS': The demonstrator, Ed Guerrard, 23, a former Marine, decided to leave the canoe and walk to a point along the Thames River where he could plunge in and begin swimming. He was detained briefly as a "suspicious

Eventually Guerrard and Eugene Keyes, 19, and Edward Sanders, 21—students at Harvard and New York University, respectively—began swimming toward the $100 million vessel as it slid down the ways.

Navy frogmen seized the trio and placed them aboard one of the many Coast Guard cutters darting about the river in an effort to block pacifists.

The three were released after a few hours.

COURT STATEMENTS: In the New Haven court, six of the pacifists delivered oral statements before sentencing. Richard Zink, 20, ordered to serve 30 days of a six-month term, told of meeting his first Russians recently on a peace walk across Long Island.

"We stopped to deliver a letter to the Soviet United Nations Mission at Glen Cove," he said, "and we saw four little Russian girls about 10 years old. It suddenly struck home to me that we were planning to kill millions of innocent children like these girls . . ."

Anderson, acknowledging that the defendants were "sincerely desirous of moving the world in the direction of peace and mutual goodwill," told them: "The court cannot accept your decision to accomplish this high-minded end by means of breaking the Federal law."

ADVERTISEMENT

HAVE WE LOST THE WILL TO PROTECT OUR FREEDOMS?

"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble . . ."

For most of two centuries the rightness of those words has been a conviction of most Americans.

"If there is one thing certain about the First Amendment, it is that this Amendment was designed to guarantee the freest interchange of ideas about all public matters and that, of course, means the interchange of all ideas . . ." —Justice Hugo L. Black, June 5, 1961.

A good restatement of our conviction? Those words are in a *dissenting* opinion. The majority of the Supreme Court on June 5th upholding the Smith Act held that Congress can punish citizens for "active" membership in an organization (that is, for *assembling peaceably.*) Previously the Court held that Congress can punish citizens for "conspiring to teach and advocate" (that is, for exercising freedom of speech and press).

"The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fateful moment in the history of a free country."—Justice Black, June 5, 1961.

Justice Black was dissenting against the Supreme Court decision that the virtual outlawing of the Communist Party was legal. What has happened to our conviction? It has given way to obsession with "national security" or, to be more honest, *fear.* Is giving way to fear likely to make us more secure?

"Once a government is committed to the principle of silencing the voice of opposition, it has only one way to go and that is down the path of increasingly repressive measures . . ."—Harry S. Truman, August 8, 1960.

That advice was rejected by Congress when it passed the Internal Security Act, which the Court just upheld. With his sense of history President Truman remembered how the fearful Germans had let the Nazis outlaw first communist ideas, then socialist ideas, then democratic ideas, and finally common decency.

"Now, when this country is trying to spread the high ideals of democracy all over the world—ideals that are revolutionary in many countries—seems to be a particularly inappropriate time to stifle First Amendment freedom in this country."—Justice Black, June 5, 1961.

How can we claim world leadership when fear subverts our most revolutionary ideal —freedom to oppose the government? How can we regain the courage of our convictions?

"What we lose by majority vote today may be reclaimed at a future time when the fear of advocacy, dissent, and nonconformity no longer cast a shadow over us."—Justice William O. Douglas, June 5, 1961.

Frightened majorities often take courage from steadfast minorities. A notable example in the past was President Jefferson's release of citizens imprisoned under the infamous Sedition Act. An example today is given by the 32 Americans in prison or facing prison for upholding the First Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"The strength of the Constitution lies entirely in the determination of each citizen to defend it."—Dr. Albert Einstein, in a letter to the ECLC, March 3, 1954.

Einstein had learned in Germany in the 1930's that lovers of freedom must show the courage of their conviction at every opportunity — in their schools, their churches, their community organizations, their political activities.

IF YOU HAVE CONVICTION, SHOW YOUR COURAGE–SPEAK UP FOR THE RIGHT TO DISSENT.

Contributions for printing this advertisement in other papers should be sent to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 21, N.Y.

COUPLE JAILED FOR AIDING HUKS PETITIONS GARCIA

Clemency sought by Pomeroys in Philippines

NINE YEARS AGO this month William and Celia Pomeroy were sentenced to life imprisonment in the Philippines for their aid to the peasant rebellion movement known as the Huks. Since then the Philippine Supreme Court has ruled that the charge under which they were sentenced is non-existent in law. They have now served, counting time off for good behavior, more than five years in excess of the minimum sentence that might be imposed consistent with the high court's ruling, on a simple charge of rebellion.

They are still in prison because the Supreme Court ruled that its 1956 decision invalidating the charge of "rebellion complexed with murder, robbery, arson and kidnaping" could not be applied retroactively to them. It held that in their case "the remedy lies in the hands of the Chief Executive and not in the courts." A formal petition for clemency was filed by the Pomeroys last November, but Philippine President Carlos P. Garcia has taken no action on it.

ELECTION FACTOR: President Garcia is now campaigning for re-election next November and all observers are convinced that considerable pressure will be needed for him to act in the Pomeroy case before then because of his fear of being red-baited into defeat. By November the Pomeroys will have served the maximum 12-year sentence for rebellion.

William Pomeroy is a native of Rochester, N.Y., who returned to the Philippines in 1947 after becoming enamored of the country during wartime services there. He enrolled under the GI Bill of Rights in the University of the Philippines, where he met Celia Mariano; they married after a campus courtship. Both were radical and both were attracted to the Huk movement. When the government betrayed a truce with the Huks and used force to block social reforms, they joined the movement and went into the hills, where they served as writers and teachers.

Both were captured in April, 1952, during a military operation against the Huks in the Sierra Madre. Neither was present at the places or times of the crimes specified in the indictment, but they were threatened with the death penalty unless they turned informers. To escape that choice, they pleaded guilty and were sentenced to life.

OFFER TO DEPART: In their formal plea for clemency filed last November, the Pomeroys cite the moral and legal injustice of their continued imprisonment and add this argument:

"If . . . it is still felt . . . that our release endangers the security of the state, we would like to point out that the Philippine government has a remedy at hand to deal with this aspect of our case: That of deportation . . .

"In such circumstances, I, William J. Pomeroy, am prepared to depart voluntarily from the Philippines, with the least possible difficulty for the government. Because of our firm desire to remain together under any and all circumstances, I, Celia Mariano Pomeroy, would, of course, accompany my husband to wheresoever he would choose to go, a freedom of abode entitled to a wife under Philippine laws.

"The foregoing presentation of facts would surely indicate that an act of clemency in our case does not only comply with prison procedures, but has a legal basis, including an endorsement by the Supreme Court, a moral basis arising from the clear existence of an injustice, and is also proper from the political and security standpoints."

NO U.S. HAVEN: The Pomeroys have expressed a desire to settle in Indonesia if deported following their release. If that could not be arranged, there is every reason to believe that the government of Cuba would grant them political asylum. (For Pomeroy to return to the U.S. would mean separation from his wife.)

The Pomeroys ended their clemency plea:

"Mr. President, in closing we cannot forbear from mentioning certain humanitarian aspects of our case. In the course of our imprisonment both the father and mother of Celia Mariano Pomeroy have died, denied the consolation of her filial care in their last years. Mrs. Mariano died **after** her daughter had served the maximum deserved sentence. The ordinary sufferings of a prisoner, although patiently borne, have been augmented by this great loss.

CELIA AND WILLIAM POMEROY
Petitioners for freedom

"On the other hand, William J. Pomeroy has not seen nor been seen by his father and mother for 14 years, since they reside in Rochester, New York, U.S.A., and he has resided in the Philippines for that length of time; both parents are aged and in ill health; the elder Pomeroy going blind from glaucoma and having little time left in which to see his son again. In lifting the effects of injustice from us, who are ourselves denied a normal life together, you would lift it also from our families.

"We earnestly appeal to you, Mr. President, to exercise your powers of clemency as Chief Executive of this country by correcting the injustice being done to us and by restoring to us our freedom."

GUARDIAN readers are urged to join this plea by writing now to

President Carlos P. Garcia
Malacanang Palace
Manila, Philippines

and asking him to grant a pardon or, at the least, a commutation of sentence to time served.

MRS. SIMON, LAMONT, NIXON AND MOORE

American group will attend Japan anti-bomb conference

INVITATIONS to represent the U.S. at the 7th annual conference of the Japan Council Against the A and H Bombs have been accepted by Dr. Corliss Lamont, philosopher and author; Russ Nixon, GUARDIAN contributor and Washington representative of the United Electrical Workers, Robert Moore, delegate of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and Mrs. Mildred Simon of the Emma Lazarus Club.

The conference will open in Hiroshima Aug. 6 and close in Tokyo Aug. 14. Dr. Herbert Aptheker and Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, noted Negro minister, of Montgomery, Ala., have also been invited. Rev. Milton Galamison of Brooklyn and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy of Montgomery, also invited, are unable to attend because of prior commitments.

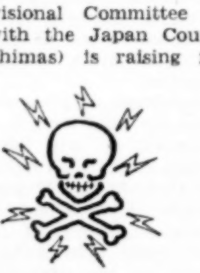
The four delegates and four others who will register as observers make up the largest delegation of U.S. citizens to attend the conferences since they were inaugurated in 1955.

COMMITTEE SET UP: Rev. Stephen Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles is chairman of the provisional committee to organize support for the conference.

Launched in 1955 as part of the protest movement against continued U.S. atomic tests in the Pacific (which brought death to one crew member of the Japanese fishing vessel, the **Lucky Dragon**, and prolonged illness to others) the Japan Conference has become one of the largest and most effective peace congresses in the world. Last year 117 delegates from 35 countries attended, including Rev. Fritchman from the U.S. Dr. Linus Pauling was a 1959 delegate.

PEACE PROGRAMS: Throughout the year the Council sponsors programs to emphasize the horrors of nuclear war. Lecturers have toured Europe, Africa and Asia; art and photo exhibitions have been held in major cities, and books have been published in millions of copies. These activities have been little known in the U.S.

The Provisional Committee for Cooperation with the Japan Council (No More Hiroshimas) is raising funds to



send the delegates to Japan by film showings, by contributions, and through the sale of the tiny, ceramic "paper crane" pins, Japanese symbol of peace and long life.

Contributions may be sent to the executive secretary, Jeanette Turner, 41-44 48th St., Long Island City 4, N.Y. Orders for the pins—five for $5—should be addressed to Box H-100, 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9. Checks may be made payable to Alex Munsell, treasurer.

July 4 picnic in Chicago

A JULY 4 ALL-NATIONS picnic will be held by the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born in Caldwell Woods, at Milwaukee and Devon, in Chicago. The picnic will start at noon. There will be dancing, food, and pool swimming. For information, call the committee offices, DE 2-3335.

REP. DOYLE'S REGRET DOESN'T CANCEL SUBPENA

HUAC is 'sorry' but still keeps Chancey on the grill

REP. CLYDE DOYLE (D-Calif.), member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, expressed regret when Martin Chancey said his appearance before the committee had cost him his livelihood. But Doyle and committee member August E. Johansen (R-Mich.) continued Chancey in subpena for another appearance later and retained the business records he had been ordered to produce.

Staff members of the committee denied Chancey's accusation that they had given information of his appearance to a newspaper in Cleveland, where Chancey lives. But six weeks before his appearance on June 12 the Cleveland **Press** published a page one story which, Chancey says, led to the loss of clients for his Language Service Bureau which translated scientific articles from German, French and Russian journals and books.

Chancey, 52, has encountered economic difficulties since 1956, when he was tried and convicted with five others under the Smith Act. That conviction was reversed in 1958, and the charges were dismissed by the government a year later, but Chancey hasn't been able to keep a job after that (GUARDIAN, June 5).

MARTIN CHANCEY
A reputation wrecked

THE HEADLINE: Four years ago he set up his translation service and had acquired a respectable roster of satisfied clients before the appearance of the page one headline: "Communist Here Translates for Defense Firms."

Chancey told the committee in a prepared statement: "This committee must be aware of the information I freely gave to newspapers: That the Language Service Bureau . . . engaged in normal business activity; that I mainly translate . . . material [which] has been previously published in widely circulated books and journals. The business is transacted by mail . . . I have worked hard over the past four years to build a reputation for excellent work. I feel that I have made a modest contribution in bringing to American industry the latest scientific developments from abroad. Never have I sought nor obtained any so-called 'sensitive' material for translation."

Back in Cleveland, Chancey said: "From the expressions of 'regret' by Congressman Doyle, I would gather that the committee is rather sensitive to the growing criticism. I think that letters to the members of the committee and other Congressmen might induce them to drop further hearings and give me a chance to try to rebuild after the havoc."

Black's dissent on McCarran Act: 'A fateful momen

A stay granted June 22 by Justice Felix Frankfurter has postponed enforcement of the registration and other provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) at least until October, or until the whole Supreme Court reconvenes in the fall. Then the Court will have before it a petition for rehearing of its decision of June 5 affirming the registration provisions of the Act after an 11-year fight against them by the Communist Party of the U.S. At the time of the June 5 opinion, delivered by Frankfurter for a majority of five justices, the deadline for compliance by the CP had been Aug. 9. The stay was granted because the court recessed for the summer before the application for rehearing was filed June 22 by attorneys John J. Abt of New York and Joseph Forer of Washington, D.C.

Against the majority decision of June 5, the remaining four justices—Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Brennan and Douglas—filed dissents on various constitutional aspects of the case. Justice Black's was the most sweeping, and is reprinted in its essence herewith. The full text will be included in a pamphlet, A Fateful Moment in Our History, *now in preparation by New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, N. Y. 3, at 15c a copy.*

Justice Douglas, in his dissent, reminded the Court of the responsibilities placed on it by the nation's Founders for safeguarding the liberties encompassed by the Bill of Rights. Said Justice Douglas:

"When Madison wrote, 'Congress shall make no law' infringing these rights, he did not expect the Supreme Court to decide, on balance, whether Congress could or could not make a law infringing them. It was true, he observed in presenting his proposals, that state legislative bodies had violated many of the most valuable articles in the Bill of Rights. But that furnished no basis for judging the effectiveness of the proposed amendments: 'If they are incorporated into the Constitution, independent tribunals of justice will consider themselves in a peculiar manner the guardians of those rights; they will be an impenetrable bulwark aaginst every assumption of power in the Legislative or Executive; they will be naturally led to resist every encroachment upon rights expressly stipulated for in the Constitution by the declaration of rights.'"

I DO NOT BELIEVE that it can be too often repeated that the freedoms of speech, press, petition and assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment must be accorded to the ideas we hate or sooner or later they will be denied to the ideas we cherish. The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fateful moment in the history of a free country. That moment seems to have arrived for this country.

The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 here involved defines "Communist action" organizations and requires them to register with the Attorney General giving much information of every kind with regard to their property, income, activities and members. The Communist Party has been ordered to register under that Act by the Subversive Activities Control Board and has challenged the validity of that order on the ground, among others, that the Act is unconstitutional in that it amounts to a complete outlawry of the Communist Party. The contention is that this Act . . . imposes such overhanging threats of disgrace, humiliation, fines, forfeitures and lengthy imprisonments upon registered organizations and their members . . . that it will be impossible for the Party to continue to function.

The Court's opinion is devoted chiefly to the task of explaining why it will not decide any of the substantial issues raised by this attack upon the constitutionality of the Act . . . and why it must decide the case just as though none of these other burdens existed and we were dealing with an Act that required nothing more than the registration of an organization.

I CANNOT AGREE TO DECIDE the case on any such hypothetical basis. If registration were the only issue in the case, I would agree at once that Congress has power to require every "person" acting as an agent of a foreign principal to file registration statements comprehensively showing his agency activities as is required, for example, by the Foreign Agents Registration Act. . . . Referring to that Act, I said in Viereck v. United States:

"Resting on the fundamental constitutional principle that our people, adequately informed, may be trusted to distinguish between the true and the false, the bill is intended to label information of foreign origin so that hearers and readers may not be deceived by the belief that the information comes from a disinterested source. Such legislation implements rather than detracts from the prized freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment."

The Act before us now, however, unlike the Foreign Agents Registration Act involved in the Viereck case, is not based on the principle that "our people, adequately informed, may be trusted to distinguish between the true and the false." Instead the present Act . . . is based on the precisely contrary principle that "our people (even when) adequately informed may (not) be trusted to distinguish between the true and the false." In this regard, the principle upon which Congress acted in passing the Subversive Activities Control Act is identical to that upon which it acted in making membership in the Communist Party a crime in the Smith Act, a provision under which the Court has today sustained the conviction and imprisonment for six years of a person [Junius Irving Scales] for being a mere member of the Communist Party with knowledge of its purposes. Statutes based upon such a principle . . . do not implement "the prized freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment"— they are designed to and do directly detract from those freedoms . . .

THE PLAN OF THE ACT is to make it impossible for an organization to continue to function once a registration order is issued against it. To this end, the Act first provides crushing penalties to insure complete compliance with the

disclosure requirements of registration . . .

Having thus made it mandatory that Communist organizations and individual Communists make a full disclosure of their identities and activities, the Act then proceeds to heap burden after burden upon those so exposed. Certain tax deductions allowed to others are denied to a registered organization. Mail matter must be stamped before the organization sends it out to show that it was disseminated by a "Communist action" organization.

. . . Members of a registered organization cannot hold certain jobs with the Government, or any jobs with private businesses engaged in doing certain work for the Government. Members cannot use or attempt to use a passport and cannot even make application for a passport without being subject to a penalty of five years in the penitentiary. The Act thus makes it extremely difficult for a member of the Communist Party to live in this country and, at the same time, makes it a crime for him to get a passport to get out.

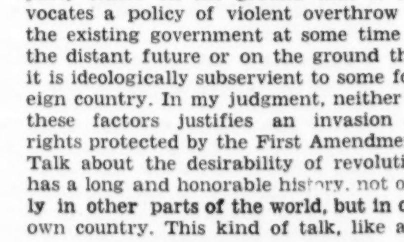
IN ADDITION TO THESE burdens imposed directly by the Act itself, the registration requirement must also be considered in the context of the other laws now existing which affect the Communist Party. The Act requires that the information obtained upon registration be given wide publicity, thus insuring that those identified as members of the Party will be subjected to all the civil disabilities, criminal prosecutions and public harassments that have become common in recent years. I agree with Mr. Justice Douglas that this aspect of the Act is alone sufficient to establish its invalidity under the self-incrimination provision of the Fifth Amendment. But I think the interrelationship between the present Act and these other laws goes deeper than that, for I think that interrelationship establishes all but conclusively that the present Act cannot be upheld as a mere registration statute. The information elicited by the Act must be considered . . . a part of a pattern of suppression by the Government . . .

In the context of this case, I can find no justification for the Court's refusal to pass upon the serious constitutional questions raised . . .

THIS WHOLE ACT, with its pains and penalties, embarks this country, for the first time, on the dangerous adventure of outlawing groups that preach doctrines nearly all Americans detest. When the practice of outlawing parties and various public groups begins, no one can say where it will end. In most countries such a practice once begun ends with a one-party government. There is something of tragic irony in the fact that this Act, expressly designed to protect this Nation from becoming a "totalitarian dictatorship" with "a single political party," has adopted to achieve its laudable purpose the policy of outlawing a party—a policy indispensable to totalitarian dictatorships. I think we should meet and decide this whole question now in the administration of a sound judicial policy that carries out our responsibilities both to Congress and to the American people.

In my judgment, the Act here under consideration is unconstitutional on at least three grounds in addition to its direct conflict with the self-incrimination provisions of the Fifth Amendment. It is, in the first instance, a classical bill of attainder which our Constitution in two places prohibits, for it is a legislative act that inflicts pains, penalties and punishments in a number of ways without a judicial trial. The legislative fact-findings as to Communist activities, which the Court — despite the constitutional command for trial of such facts by a court and jury—accepts as facts, supply practically all of the proof needed to bring the Communist Party within the proscriptions of the Act. The Act points unerringly to the members of that Party as guilty people who must be penalized as the Act provides. At the same time, these legislative fact-findings fall little short of being adequate in themselves to justify a finding of guilt against any person who can be identified, however faintly, by any informer, as ever having been a member of the Communist Party. Most of whatever is lacking in the legislative fact-findings is later supplied by administrative fact-findings of an agency which is not a court, which is not manned by independent judges, and which does not have to observe the constitutional right to trial by jury and other trial safeguards unequivocally commanded by the Bill of Rights. Yet, after this agency has made its findings and its conclusions, neither its findings of fact nor the findings of fact of the legislative body can subsequently be challenged in court by any individual who may later be brought up on a charge that he failed to register as required by the Act and the Board. The Act thus not only is a legislative bill of attainder but also violates due process by short-cutting practically all of the Bill of Rights, leaving no hope for anyone entangled in this legislative-administrative web except what has proved in this case to be one of the most truncated judicial reviews that the history of this Court can afford.

I THINK ALSO THAT this outlawry of the Communist Party and imprisonment of its members violates the First Amendment. The question under that Amendment is whether Congress has power to outlaw an association, group or party either on the ground that it advocates a policy of violent overthrow of the existing government at some time in the distant future or on the ground that it is ideologically subservient to some foreign country. In my judgment, neither of these factors justifies an invasion of rights protected by the First Amendment. Talk about the desirability of revolution has a long and honorable history, not only in other parts of the world, but in our own country. This kind of talk, like any



other, can be used at the wrong time and for the wrong purpose. But, under our system of Government, the remedy for this danger must be the same remedy that is applied to the danger that comes from any other erroneous talk—education and contrary argument . . .

The freedom to advocate ideas about public matters through associations of the nature of political parties and societies was contemplated and protected by the First Amendment. The existence of such groups is now, and for centuries

Church group warns of fascism

A RESOLUTION WARNING of the "Fascist threat to American freedom" was approved last month by the United Presbyterian Assembly, meeting at Buffalo, N.Y. The statement assailed the "distortions and threatening innuendos" in **Operation Abolition**, the film version of the student demonstrations at last year's House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco.

The church resolution cited "the recent emergence of incipient fascism and local frauds of Nazism (and) similarly dangerous and subtly vicious tyrannies over the human spirit." It called upon the U.S. government and the American people to "oppose with all vigor . . . any efforts to revive in our land the horrors so recently visited against mankind by the fascist movements of our time."

As to **Operation Abolition**, the Assembly said the film's makers failed to recognize "legitimate dissent." It added that the recent acquittal of Robert Meisenbach of assault linked to the San Francisco demonstration "demonstrated dramatically that some of the main charges in the film, even though they were made by prominent men, have now been proven to be charges that will not stand up in a court of law before a jury."

ment' for U.S. freedom

JUSTICE HUGO L. BLACK
A warning to the nation

has been, a necessary part of any effective promulgation of beliefs about governmental policies. And the destruction of such groups is now and always has **been one of the first steps totalitarian** governments take . . .

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE of the type of legislation under which this sort of persecution was carried on [in England before colonization of this country] is provided by a statute enacted in 1593 to destroy dissenting religious sects and force all the people of England to become regular attendants at the established church. The basic premise upon which its commands rested was not at all unlike that upon which the Act here proceeds:

"For the better discovering and avoiding of such traiterous and most dangerous Conspiracies and Attempts, as are daily devised and practised against our most gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty and the happy Estate of this common Weal, by sundry wicked and seditious Persons, who terming themselves Catholicks, and being indeed Spies and Intelligencers, not only for her Majesty's foreign Enemies, but also for rebellious and traiterous Subjects born within her Highness Realms and [illegible] hiding their most detestable and devilish Purposes under a false Pretext of Religion and [illegible] **wander and shift from Place to Place within this Realm, to corrupt and seduce her Majesty's Subjects, and to stir them to Sedition and Rebellion . . ."**

These attainted Catholics were not permitted to go "above five Miles" from their homes. For violation of this command they could be sentenced to prison and have all their goods, lands and other possessions forfeited "to the Queen's Majesty." . . .

That statute also [illegible] to the consideration of the Subversive Activities Control Act because it, too, used disclosure as a lever to secure effective enforcement of its provisions. Thus, one section of the statute provided:

"And be it further enacted and ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person which shall be suspected to be a Jesuit, Seminary or Massing Priest, being examined by any Person having lawful Authority in that Behalf to examine such Person which shall be so suspected, shall refuse to answer directly and truly whether he be a Jesuit, or a Seminary or Massing Priest, as is aforesaid, every such person so refusing to answer shall, for his Disobedience and Contempt in that Behalf, be committed to Prison by such as shall examine him as is aforesaid, and thereupon shall remain and continue in Prison without Bail or Mainprise, until he shall make direct and true Answer to the said Questions whereupon he shall be so examined." [illegible] **supplied.) One cannot help but wonder whether this Court, were it called upon** to consider the constitutionality of a provision of that kind in this country, would pass it off as involving nothing more than potential impairments of religious freedoms and a right to travel which the attainted persons might never want to exercise . . .

EVEN AFTER THE AMERICAN Revolution, England continued to pass statutes outlawing groups and punishing their members. One that is of particular interest here because of the many similarities between it and the Act involved in this case was passed in 1799 under the title "An Act for the more effectual Suppression of Societies established for Seditious practices." . . . The Act broadly provided for the suppression and prohibition "as unlawful Combinations and Confederacies," of all such societies "particularly . . . Societies of United Englishmen, United Scotsmen, United Britons, United Irishmen, and The London Corresponding Society . . ." This 1799 English Act, like the Subversive Activities Control Act here, comprehensively provided for fines, forfeitures, penalties and imprisonments. It went on to outlaw places where debates could take place or lectures be given or books be gathered and read unless, under very restrictive standards, licenses had been granted by Justices of the Peace . . .

The parliamentary debates underlying the enactment of this 1799 English statute indicate plainly the close parallel between it and the Act here under consideration. The chief fear of the English rulers that brought on the 1799 Act was that the people of England would be seduced away from their loyalty to their government if societies were left free to

discuss public matters and if the common people were left free to read and hear arguments. . .

THE DEBATES ON THE English statute also show the true nature of the "revolutionary" principles advocated by the various societies named which were being used to justify their outlawry. These principles were chiefly parliamentary reform providing for annual sessions of Parliament, universal suffrage and fair parliamentary representation, and repeal of the right of the King to veto measures passed by Parliament. It is, of course, true that Congress has no power to outlaw political parties advocating such measures in this country. But I wonder how this Court could ever reach the question in view of its holding today. And if the Court is, as it holds, truly bound by legislative findings as to the nature of political parties and their involvement with foreign powers, how could it strike down the very statute I have just described? For that statute purported to establish, as a matter of fact, that the named societies were a part of a "traitorous Conspiracy" acting [illegible] junction with the Persons from Time to Time exercising the Powers of Government in France."

At the very time England was going through its era of terror about the "Jacobins," a heated political struggle involving many of the same issues was going on in this country between the two chief political parties . . . The Federalists wanted to outlaw the party of Jefferson on the ground that they too were "Jacobins" and therefore a threat to our security. The Jeffersonians quite naturally opposed such outlawry and in fact opposed any measure which would restrict the freedoms of speech, press, petition and assembly . . . **This conflict . . . was temporarily resolved in favor of the Federalists and the result was the infamous era of the Alien and Sedition Acts. These laws . . . declared that it was necessary in order to protect the security of the Nation to give the President the broadest of powers over aliens and to make substantial inroads upon the freedoms of speech, press and assembly.**

THE ENFORCEMENT of these statutes, particularly the Sedition Act, constitutes one of the greatest blots on our country's record of freedom. **Publishers were sent to jail for writing their own views and for publishing the** views of others . . .

I regret, exceedingly regret, that I feel impelled to recount tihs history of the Federalist Sedition Act because, in all truth, it must be pointed out that this law—which has since been almost universally condemned as unconstitutional—did not go as far in suppressing the First Amendment freedoms of Americans as do the Smith Act and the Subversive Activities Control Act. All the fervor and all the eloquence and all the emotionalism and all the prejudice and all the parades of horrors about letting the people hear arguments for themselves were not sufficient in 1798 to persuade the members of Congress to pass a law which would directly and unequivocally outlaw the party of Jefferson, at which the law was undoubtedly aimed. The same arguments were made then about the "Jacobins," meaning the Jeffersonians, with regard to their alleged subservience to France, that are made today about the Communists with regard to their subservience to Russia. Even the language of the charges that were hurled was substantially the same as that used in the charges made today. The Jacobins were "trained, officered regimented, and formed to subordination, in a matter that our militia have never yet equalled;" and "it is as certain as any future event can be, that they (the Jeffersonians) will take arms against the laws as soon as they dare . . ."

These charges expressed fears that were echoed time and time again during the congressional debate on the Alien and Sedition Act. The very same fears are again being voiced today as a justification for curtailing the liberties of the people of America. Thus, Sec. 2 (15) of the Subversive Activities Control Act under consideration says that the "Communist movement in the United States is an organization numbering thousands of adherents, rigidly and ruthlessly disciplined" only awaiting "a moment when . . . overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence may seem possible of achievement . . ."

IT IS MY BELIEF THAT our Constitution with its Bill of Rights was expressly intended to make our Government one of strictly limited powers. The Founders . . . finally settled upon the Constitution, which very clearly adopted the policy of limiting the powers of the Federal Government. Even then the people of this country were not completely satisfied. They demanded more precise and unequivocal limitations upon the powers of Government and obtained the Bill of Rights, the central provisions of which were the First Amendment guarantees of complete religious and political freedom.

In the very face of the provisions of the First Amendment, however, the Court today upholds laws which . . . adopt the policy of force to crush views about public matters entertained by a small minority in this country. This, to me, marks a major break in the wall designed by the First Amendment to keep this country free by leaving the people free to talk about any kind of change in basic governmental policies they desire to talk about . . .

I believe with the Framers of the First Amendment that the internal security of a nation like ours does not and cannot be made to depend upon the use of

force by Government to make all the beliefs and opinions of the people fit into a common mold on any single subject . . . The creation of public opinion by groups, organizations, societies, **clubs, and parties, has been and is a** necessary part of our democratic society . . .

IN MY JUDGMENT, this country's internal security can better be served by depending upon the affection of the people than by attempting to instill them with fear and dread of the power of Government. The Communist Party has never been more than a small group in this country. And its numbers had been dwindling even before the Government began its campaign to destroy the Party by force of law. This was because a vast majority of the American people were against the Party's policies and overwhelmingly rejected its candidates year after year. That is the true American way of securing this Nation against dangerous ideas . . .

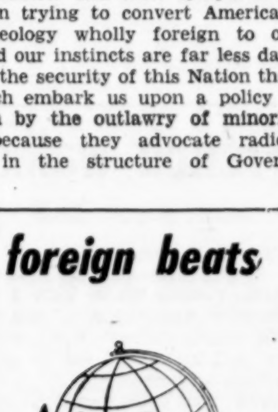
I am compelled to say in closing that I fear that all the arguments and urgings the Communists and their sympathizers can use in trying to convert Americans to an ideology wholly foreign to our habits and our instincts are far less dangerous to the security of this Nation than laws which embark us upon a policy of **repression by the outlawry of minority** parties because they advocate radical changes in the structure of Government . . .

Reminder from Cuba

AMIGOS DE CUBA, an organization of U.S. citizens residing in Cuba, is conducting a July 4 rally in Havana to "remind the world that in the Declaration of Independence there is a sound basis for friendship between our country and Cuba." The group invites GUARDIAN readers to cable greetings to the rally. The address: Harold Spencer, Hotel 8 and 19, Habana, Cuba.

Special coverage on the foreign beats

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN like the stories by Ursula Wassermann and Anne Bauer on page 3, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting for an informed viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.



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RECEPTION COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM RIDERS AT TALLAHASSEE
Police arresting John Collier (left) and Arthur Hardge at the airport

FIRST AMENDMENT HEARINGS SET

Popper sentenced for contempt

MARTIN POPPER, New York attorney and former secretary of the Lawyers Guild, was sentenced in Federal Court, New York City, to six months in prison and a fine of $500 on June 23 for contempt of Congress. Popper was called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in June, 1959, and refused on First Amendment grounds to answer questions about his personal beliefs or the activities of the Lawyers Guild. He will appeal.

On Monday, June 19, Elliott Sullivan, an actor, was tried for contempt of Congress before Federal District Judge Sidney Sugarman in New York City. The judge reserved decision and gave attorneys for both sides until July 17 to file new briefs. Sullivan, together with actor George Tyne and folk singer Pete Seeger, appeared before the House Committee in New York in August, 1955, in what committee chairman Francis Walter called an investigation of the "communist conspiracy in the entertainment business."

Seeger is now appealing a sentence of one year and court costs estimated at $500. Tyne went on trial in New York City on June 26.

Four other First Amendment victims were granted hearings by the Supreme Court on June 19. They are Norton Anthony Russell, an engineer, of Yellow Springs, Ohio, Alden Whitman, a copy editor for the New York **Times**, Herman Liveright, former program director for a New Orleans television station, and William A. Price, former reporter for the New York **Daily News**. Earlier the Supreme Court had granted hearings to John T. Gojack, former trade union leader in Indiana, and Robert Shelton, a copy editor for the New York **Times**. The court will hear arguments in these cases next fall.

Freedom Riders

(Continued from Page 1)

25) on the probability of an end to the Freedom Rides, may indicate an intensified campaign by the Administration to end its embarrassment caused by militant civil rights action. The **Times** story, by Claude Sitton, said that Negro leaders were seeking to halt the Rides, but the sources of information were not named. It said that "sources among the movement's top leaders" indicated that a halt would have the support of "a majority of the groups that have been organizing and financing" the Rides.

This prediction was emphatically denied by Marvin Rich, community relations director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), original sponsor of the Rides. Rich said the fact that 20 Riders arrived in Jackson the day the story appeared underscored the falseness of the report. "We are taking applications for more Rides and will continue to do so," he said.

Chief reason for the proposed halt in Freedom Rides, the **Times** story said, was the Justice Dept.'s efforts to obtain an Interstate Commerce Commission order ending bus station segregation. The ICC has scheduled hearings to begin Aug. 15, but its regulations make testifying difficult, if not impossible, for the average citizen. The commission requires 40 copies of written testimony reproduced at the witness' expense. If he wants to study previous testimony, a witness must travel to Washington at his own expense.

THEY'LL GO ON: The **Times** story noted that some militant student leaders might ignore any order to suspend the Rides. The story noted that a meeting of the Freedom Rides Coordinating Committee, made up of representatives of the Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, had decided to continue the Rides.

In addition to emphasizing the importance of legal action, Atty. Gen. Kennedy has increasingly sought to channel integration efforts into the area of voter registration. CORE's Rich commented: "If more Negroes are planning to try to vote it is because people are excited by actions like the Freedom Rides."

Throughout the six weeks of the Freedom Rides the Federal government has tried to restrain the action. Justice Dept. agents have continually made attempts to dissuade potential Riders. Diane Nash, coordinator of the Nashville group, refused to cancel a second trip to Alabama after the first CORE buses had been attacked in Anniston, Birmingham and Montgomery. Reports circulated that Atty. Gen. Kennedy had tried unsuccessfully to dissuade Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., from traveling to Montgomery for a mass meeting the day after the first Freedom Riders got there.

IN MISSISSIPPI: While the Federal government has been in retreat, the number of Freedom Riders in Mississippi jails has risen to 139. About 50 young women have been transferred to the state penitentiary at Parchman to join 45 male Riders placed under maximum security confinement there June 15.

CORE officials said the Riders have not been allowed to read or to have cigarettes. CORE National Secretary James Farmer, one of those jailed, reported so CORE headquarters in New York that Riders are permitted to send and receive two letters a week.

Seventeen of the Riders are on a hunger strike in jail. Price Chatham of East Rockaway, L.I., had gone without food for the longest continuous period—25 days on June 25. Another Rider began his 21st day that day. Chatham's family became alarmed about the lack of official concern for his condition on the 20th day when an Associated Press story reported that Sheriff J. R. Gilfoy of Jackson, Miss., had said Chatham "can eat or not eat, just as he wants."

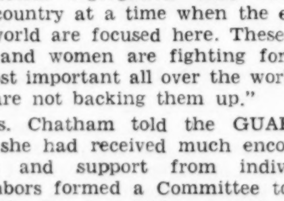
Chatham's wife, Gina, wired Sheriff Gilfoy: "Today's press indicates you will permit death of my husband, your prisoner and your responsibility. You will be held liable for failing to protect his health." The Sheriff answered: "Re your telegram Chatham being offered clean, wholesome, nutritious food at each meal time. He states he is not sick, simply wants to fast. Doctor will examine tomorrow."

Dr. Hector P. Harrell of the prison examined Chatham and said: "It is my opinion this man is eating." Chatham ended his fast after a visit from his wife, who reported he had lost over 30 pounds.

NO ANSWERS: Mrs. Chatham had received no replies to letters and wires she had sent to the President and the Attorney General. On June 19 she wrote the Attorney General:

"How much longer must this go on? You say the Freedom Riders have made their point, but they only know what everyone else knows—that the Justice Dept. by its lack of action is condoning the disgraceful segregation that exists in this country at a time when the eyes of the world are focused here. These brave men and women are fighting for what is most important all over the world, but you are not backing them up."

Mrs. Chatham told the GUARDIAN that she had received much encouragement and support from individuals. Neighbors formed a Committee to Support the Freedom Riders to raise funds and publicize the Riders' stay in prison. Jerome Oberwager, chairman, has communicated the committee's concern to Federal and Mississippi authorities and the press. The group has not received satisfactory answers from the Federal government, Oberwager said. Oberwager said that Burke Marshall, assistant attorney general in charge of civil rights, said: "We didn't put these people in jail." John Doar, Justice Dept. civil rights attorney, told Oberwager that "due process" would be followed, and that anything that could be done by law would be done.



'AIN'T TALKIN': Oberwager said he received curt answers to his inquiries at the state penitentiary from Fred Jones, superintendent. "It was like talking to a Nazi concentration camp director," Oberwager said. Jones had informed him: "I ain't talkin' to no damn Northerners."

Oberwager said that Mrs. Chatham and their friends were fearful that he would fast until death. The fast was a protest against separation of Negro and white Freedom Riders in prison. Chatham, a 29-year-old script writer for Paramount and 20th Century-Fox motion pictures, wrote June 6 from the small cell in which he was isolated as a "trouble-maker":

"It is very dark and stuffy but I still have enough light to see. I've decided

I won't break and will practice passive resistance almost all the way. Not completely, however, because I won't refuse to speak to the 'screws' [guards] . . . I decided the complete method is a 'hate method' and I no longer hate them."

FBI'S ROLE: In the same letter he said that the FBI had taken pictures of the Riders all along the route. "The FBI was working more against us than anything else," he wrote. "They were supposed to be protecting us from the mobs, but they gave all information on us (after checking) to the Jackson police."

Chatham is from an old Texas family (his mother is a Daughter of the American Revolution), but, his wife said: "He has always been against segregation. He has never done anything like this before. I will support him. If I asked him to stop now it would be a very selfish thing to do."

Asked about their 8-year-old son, Rhys, she said: "Rhys understands that his father is fighting for his country." For Father's Day Rhys prepared a scrapbook of newspaper clippings titled: "My Father's Freedom Ride." The cover drawing bore the legend: "Let all men be together—Freedom Rides Bus."

To President Kennedy Rhys wrote:

"My father is in a big prison. He is a Freedom Rider, not a criminal. I can't get in touch with my father any more. My mother is worried. He wasn't eating for 20 days now. Please get him out of prison."

French walkers joining Americans

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

THE SAN FRANCISCO-to-Moscow Peace Walk team was to meet at the Belgium-French border July 2 with ten Frenchmen who had continued the marathon march through their native land after authorities refused to admit the American-sponsored group.

Nearly 200 police were awaiting the 27-member team at Le Havre June 22 when it arrived on the steamer Tormania for a second attempt to walk on French soil.

Twelve team members jumped into chilly channel waters and began swimming for shore when they were refused permission to debark. Police picked up six swimmers immediately and returned them to the Normania for shipment back to England with the 15 already on board. Three more jumped ship as it prepared to leave but were placed on board before the vessel left the harbor.

The remaining six swimmers were apprehended too late for immediate return. They were lodged in prison until June 24.

The French marching group, including one Algerian, left Le Havre soon after the first unsuccessful attempt to land June 13. They had intended to walk with the group but instead staged their own march over the same route. They arrived in Paris June 22 and were to rendezvous with the team at the Belgium border town of Courtai.

The 6,500-mile walk, sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Nonviolent Action, is being undertaken by 18 Americans and nine Europeans who joined in London. They call for immediate unilateral disarmament by East or West as the only means of breaking the disarmament deadlock.

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BOOKS

Faulty view picture of Du Bois

THIS IS the second biography of Dr. Du Bois;* like the first, by Francis L. Broderick (reviewed by this writer in the **National Guardian**, July 27, 1959), it is the product of a young white scholar. The Broderick volume, though representing much hard work, was not successful; the Rudwick volume, also not lacking in hard work, nevertheless fails, too; it is, in fact, poorer than the earlier volume.

In his concluding chapter—the best in the book—Rudwick does pay tribute to Du Bois' pioneering role in the struggle against jim crow, in developing a sense of African consciousness and promoting the Pan-African movement, in trying to make clear the relationship between the Negro movement and the labor movement. The last sentence in the biography reads: "There can be no doubt that in the field of race relations, W. E. B. Du Bois, despite his individualism, was the dean of the protest advocate leaders during the first half of the 20th Century."

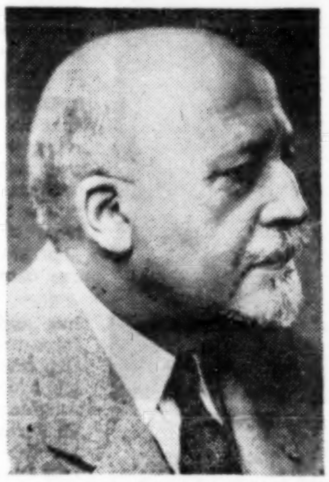
But the preceding several hundred pages are so permeated with invidious language, erroneous estimates, and attributions of dubious motivations that it is likely many readers will never get to the concluding chapter; those who do, will be right in fearing that the latter was tacked on as a saving afterthought, contradicting the earlier pages.

ONE OF THE central themes of Rudwick's interpretation of Du Bois is the idea that in Du Bois there was an irreconcilable contradiction; this lay "in Du Bois' attempt to develop the race as a separate cultural group, and at the same time integrate its members in the United States."

The contradiction is in Rudwick's understanding, not in Du Bois' intention. The historic Negro demand for integration—i.e., for full equality in every aspect of life in the United States—is not a demand for obliteration. The achievement of full equality is complemented by enhancing the pride of Negro people in their history, culture, values, etc.; here the national quality of the Negro people's liberation movement is of decisive importance. Rudwick's misapprehension of this basic thread in Du Bois' life—and in Negro history—vitiates his analysis.

Rudwick's misapprehension is part of his general error in equating Du Bois' pride in his people with "racism" and "chauvinism." This leads him to serious error when dealing with one of Du Bois' greatest insights—namely, the central role of racism and colonialism in the 20th Century. This is now widely understood—even the State Dept. says it understands this today—but Du Bois analyzed it almost sixty years ago. Rudwick turns this insight into a caricature: "The frustrated Du Bois propounded the threat of race war as an ego-defense mechanism and he was trying to bluff the whites."

Quite apart from the Freudian jargon, and the ludicrous attribution of some of its more dubious "insights" to Du Bois, what Rudwick is talking about is one of the many classical essays that have come from Du Bois' pen, **The Souls of White Folk**, originally written in 1917. While war was raging, Du Bois in this essay insisted that imperialist exploitation of the darker peoples of the world was one of its basic causes. He added that those who said the war was being fought to end war were wrong because the battle was being waged not in order to terminate colonialism and imperialism, but rather to maintain and, at most, rearrange their structure. So long as the colonial system existed, Du Bois continued in this remarkable paper, the war system would continue. Furthermore, he



W. E. B. DU BOIS
'Dean of protest leaders'

prophesied, the colored peoples of the world would bear this exploitation only so long as they had to; when their own strength had reached the point where they could challenge it with chance for success, they would do so.

Du Bois foresaw the rising to greater strength of Japan and China and India; he foresaw intensified militancy among the Negro masses of Africa, the West Indies and the United States, and he warned that if the colonialists and racists persisted in their systems of forcible oppression, the day would come when they would face superior force from the oppressed. Du Bois added that he thought this development would be assisted by an awakening among the working classes of the imperial powers and that such awakening and such world-wide unity of the exploited would terminate imperialism.

He hoped all this could come about without war; but with or without war, he was sure it would come about.

This remarkable essay, written in the midst of World War I, is turned into a kind of "Yellow Peril" argument in reverse, and then Du Bois is condemned for racism!

IN CONNECTION WITH Du Bois' world vision and particularly his Pan-African leadership, Rudwick dismisses the latter as "one of Du Bois' biggest failures."

It is true that there was some ambivalence in the attitude of some Negroes toward Africa, since they were influenced by the prevailing chauvinist mythology; but it is also true that there was a remarkable degree of genuine interest among Negro intellectuals in Africa. This was shown in the writing of such 19th Century figures as Martin R. Delany, Alexander Crummel and Edward D. Blyden. It has been present in the work of such Negro intellectuals as A. C. Stafford, Monroe Work, William L. Hansberry, J. A. Rogers, Horace Mann Bond, Mercer Cook, Rayford Logan, Alain Locke, Carter G. Woodson, James Weldon Johnson, Jessie Fauset, George W. Ellis, and Paul and Eslanda Robeson. The **Crisis** magazine has been filled with articles, stories and pictures on Africa ever since its founding; Woolson's **Journal of Negro History** has paid careful attention to African life and history for the past half century. The interest today, of course, is at a high point (and in the concluding chapters, Rudwick credits Du Bois for his pioneering role in this) but the fact of past interest is important in showing that Du Bois was not some sort of rarified visionary—as Rudwick tends to depict him—but one whose genius included a comprehension of what was most important to and most vital for his people.

ONE FURTHER POINT: Rudwick—as Broderick before him—seeks to make of Du Bois today an isolated and rejected and pathetic figure; and he seeks to explain this condition on the basis of Du Bois' left politics. This, it alleged, has cut Du Bois off from the mainstream of American and Negro life and made him a man forgotten and without influence. Rudwick writes that Du Bois, in his later years, "became a figure of pathos, if not tragedy—talented, even brilliant, but hurt beyond repair after a long life of battling racism."

Quite apart from the fact that **Du Bois—past his 93rd birthday—is filled with more spirit and joy of life, more zest, than people half his age, this whole interpretation is wrong.** Because of this view, Rudwick in commenting Du Bois' great historical work, **Black Reconstruction**—published first in 1935—finds it necessary to summarize its reception this way: "Although Communist historians were impressed, the volume was scathingly criticized by others." He then quotes two of the others, neither of whom were historians.

Actually, however, Du Bois' volume received the warm reception it deserved, partly because it appeared in the middle of the New Deal era. Thus, professors Crane Brinton, A. A. Taylor, and William MacDonald commended it in the warmest terms in the **Christian Science Monitor**, the **New England Quarterly** and the New York **Times**, respectively, while Lewis Gannett, in the New York **Herald Tribune** correctly described it as "an inspired book and one that was sorely needed."

Rudwick is somewhat closer to the mark when he says that beginning in 1948, Dr. Du Bois' work began to appear exclusively in "far-left wing publications." But even here his degree of error is large, and on two counts. First, he puts the onus for the restricted scope of Du Bois' publication, beginning in 1949, upon Du Bois, rather than upon the well-known "free press" of the United States, which in marvelously "coordinated" style—from newspapers to magazines to book publishers—began to reject Du Bois as his views became more and more distasteful to the cold war connivers. Second, Rudwick exaggerates the completeness of the boycott; thus, since 1949, Du Bois' writings have appeared in the **Crisis**, the **Pittsburgh Courier**, the **Massachusetts Review**, certain other professional and learned journals, **United Asia**, in India and **Présence Africaine**, in Paris—and none of these may be described as "left-wing."

OF course, at past 90 even Du Bois, despite his fabulous energy, may be permitted at

least a semi-retirement from organizational battles and struggles. But the influence of, and the regard for, Du Bois among Negro masses in the United States—especially the student population—and among the millions and millions in the Socialist world and in the newly liberated or soon-to-be-liberated countries is at its highest point. This is shown not only in the Lenin Peace Prize, honors by heads of governments and by universities in Europe and Asia, and invitations to the inaugurations of heads of governments in Africa. It is shown in our own land in Dr. Du Bois' appearance as the speaker at the convocation at Allen University in South Carolina in 1957; his citation of honor at Fisk University in Tennessee in 1958; his speech at the 25th conference of the Association of (Negro) Social Science Teachers in North Carolina in 1960, and other honors.

It is not Du Bois who is a figure of pathos and tragedy; it is rather pathetic and tragic that a young American scholar can seriously offer this work as a biography of Dr. Du Bois and that a university press can put its imprint to the product.

—Herbert Aptheker

**W. E. B. DU BOIS: A STUDY IN MINORITY GROUP LEADERSHIP, by Elliott M. Rudwick. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 382 pp., $6.*

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Indians speak up

(Continued from Page 1)

ence rivals in scope the famous Meriam Survey of 1928 which made this central finding: "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white society." The Chicago conference found that "poverty and lack of social adjustment . . . prevail as the outstanding attributes of Indian life today."

The Indian population is increasing—it went up from 332,397 in 1930 to 508,665 in 1960—while its land base is dwindling. In 1871, when the Federal government signed its last Indian treaty, the Indians held some 137,000,000 acres; this figure has now been reduced to 56,000,000. The Indians now want to keep their last remaining lands, to develop their human and natural resources and, above all, to retain their identity as Indians.

THEY RESIST: Since the middle of the last century the full power of the government—and of some non-governmental agencies—has been used to force "assimilation" upon the Indian. The Indian has resisted these pressures so successfully that one authority has called him "the stubbornest non-conformist among us" and added: "Three hundred years have proven the futility of trying to obliterate Indian identity or ignoring its strength and persistence."

For years government Indian schools ordered the children to forget their tribal languages, while religious schools sought to discourage Indian traditions. But the languages and traditions are as alive today as ever. A letter to the conference from an Indian community in Bellflower, Calif., said:

"We believe that the U.S. government should work on one basic premise in so far as its dealings with American Indians. We believe that it should be this: The American Indian has never wanted anything from his government except to be left alone. While Negro minority groups are working for integration with the white people the Indian minority has only been interested in freedom from the white man."

WRONG PRESCRIPTIONS: The same spirit was expressed in a letter from representatives of "relocated" Indians in Dallas, Tex.: "Since 1834, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was organized within the War Dept., every Federal physician has advised a different medicine for our economic ills without consulting the Indian medicine man. We want Indians appointed to the Bureau that know the Indian problems. We definitely want an Indian for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs who thinks like an Indian, acts like an Indian, and understands Indian problems."

The Indian way of life scorns material values. The Indian is non-competitive and unpossessive; an automobile to him is not a fancy object of pride but a device to take him from one place to another. He is totally disinterested in keeping up with the Joneses. It is these qualities that account for the Indians' "lack of social adjustment." Marie Potts, guest editor of the Bulletin of the National Congress of American Indians, wrote recently:

"How to convey to the general public the knowledge and appreciation for the non-material cultural values of the Indians; the high value placed upon generosity and sharing; the tolerance of others' weaknesses, or their abuses; their patience with the faults of their own or other human beings; their inclusion of everybody in whatever they may do or in the sharing of whatever they may have; their lack of aggressiveness (often viewed by others as a detriment to their 'progress'); their love of beauty; their appreciation of the present as different from an obsession for the future; their dignity, calm, deliberateness, their love of the uncomplicated; and their marvelous sense of humor."

TERMINATION: The most recent effort to force "assimilation" upon the Indian was the termination policy of the Eisenhower Administration which would break up the tribes and scatter their members. Termination meant ending reservation members' special status as Indians, including their rights to tax exemption, self-government and Federal aid.

Before the program was checked seven tribes were terminated, the largest being the Klamaths of Oregon and the Menominees of Wisconsin. For the Menominees termination was a disaster and Congress has since had to enact measures for their aid.

On March 15 a Fund for the Republic Commission on American Indians completed a four-year study with a report that said: "Termination as it was being applied threatened to bring about disruption of the Indian's tribal and legal systems, the forced sale and wasteful exploitation of Indian lands, inequitable taxation and abandonment by the Federal government of education, medicine and road building and other services without first establishing other sources of support for such services."

A UNIVERSAL DESIRE: Above all, termination meant abrogating government treaties with the Indians. The Chicago conference declaration said: "It is a universal desire among all Indians that their treaties and trust-protected lands remain intact and beyond the reach of predatory men." It added:

"The right of self-government, a right which the Indians possessed before the coming of the white man, has never been extinguished; indeed, it has been repeatedly sustained by the courts of the U.S. Our leaders made binding agreements—ceding lands as requested by the U.S.; keeping the peace; harboring no enemies of the nation . . .

"When our lands are taken for a declared purpose, scattering our people and threatening our continued existence, it grieves us to be told that a money payment is the equivalent of all the things we give up. Our forefathers could be generous when all the continent was theirs. They could cast away whole empires for a handful of trinkets for their children. But in our day, each remaining acre is a promise that we will still be here tomorrow. Were we paid a thousand times the market value of our lost holdings, still the payment would not suffice. Money never mothered the Indian people, as the land has mothered them."

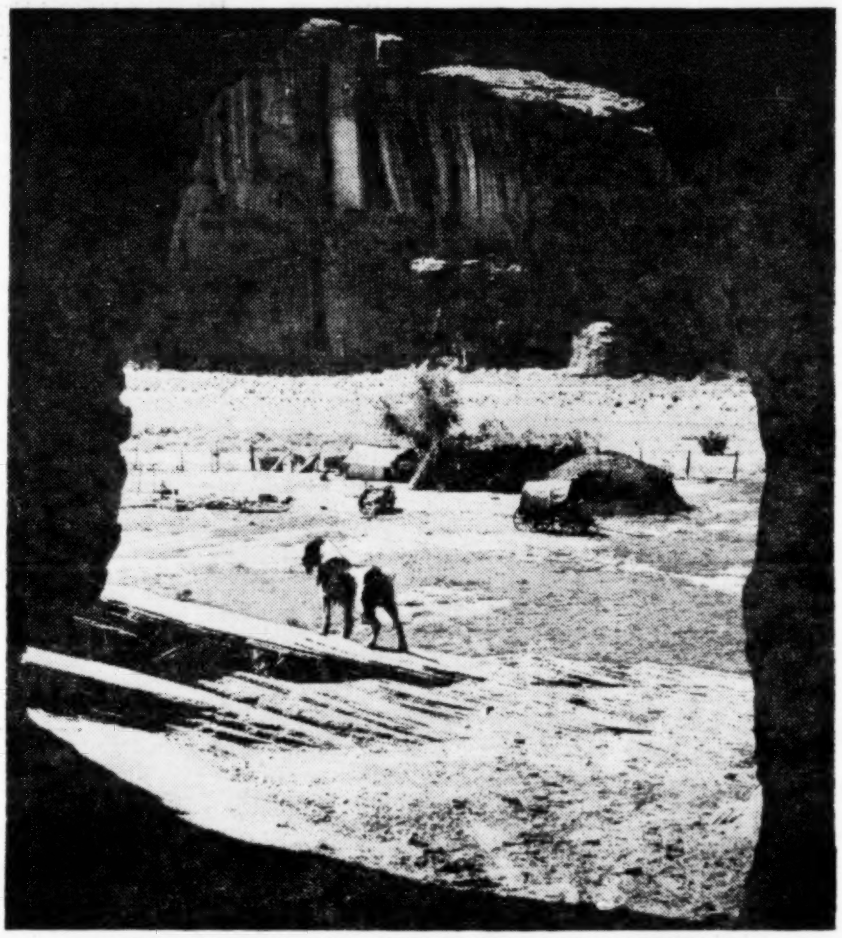
THE EIGHT POINTS: Prof. Tax summarized eight points from his voluminous correspondence with Indians all over the country on which there was general agreement:

(1) Indian ways are right ways for Indians; (2) the traditional rights of Indian nations have never been lost and should not be jeopardized; (3) Indians whose economic resources have been taken away need financial help, but want to manage their own affairs; (4) knowing that their Indian culture discourages avaricious behavior, some Indians will always want special protection against the loss of community rights and resources; (5) Indians want education, to take full advantage of the resources of the modern world, and they can get this without necessarily adopting the values of the white man; (6) wrongs of the past must be undone wherever possible; (7) present wrongs must be ended at once; (8) measures must immediately be taken to protect from now on all Indians' rights as they have never been protected before and to help the Indian people achieve better health, education, and economic well-being."

THEY HAVE HOPE: Many are hopeful that the Kennedy Administration will be receptive to legislation embodying these proposals. The Chicago conference was told that during his campaign Kennedy "made the most detailed, thoughtful and, from the Indian point of view, acceptable statements on Indian affairs that any candidate has made in recent times."

Secy. of the Interior Stewart L. Udall has appointed a special five-man task force to recommend a new Indian policy. It is headed by W. W. Keeler, a vice president of the Phillips Petroleum Co. and a principal chief of the Cherokee Indians. Keeler was also a member of the Fund for the Republic Commission on American Indians.

With the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of June 30, 1834, still the basic law, a change is long overdue.



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Fair Play Committee plans dance July 1

THE FAIR PLAY for Cuba Committee will hold a dance Saturday, July 1, at 8:30 p.m. at the Central Plaza, 40 E. 7th St., New York, to welcome the delegates to its first national conference. There will be entertainment and refreshments. Admission is $1.50. The committee's office is at 799 Broadway, OR 4-8295.

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THE GALLERY

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH will step up its broadcasting and other propaganda activities in Latin America, according to **Variety.** The plan, which has Vatican endorsement, calls for the establishment of a mass media section in Bogota, Colombia, headquarters of the Latin American Bishops Council. A radio training school and a center for recording and packaging radio programs will be set up also in Bogota. **Variety** reported: "In addition to heading off Red propaganda efforts, the hypoed Catholic broadcast activity is designed to 'balance off' Protestant-sponsored operations." The program is a result of a study for the Catholic Press Assn. by CBS Radio president Arthur Hull Hayes, General Teleradio president Thomas O'Neill, Hearst writer Bob Considine, Hearst Corp. president Richard Berlin and others . . . Rolls Royce announced that it will give a luxury vacation in one of the company's cars to employes with 50 years' service. A company official explained: "Many employees have been turning out Rolls Royces for many years but never ridden in one." . . . A sign in the Troy-Manhattan laundry in Berkeley, Calif., reads: "Ladies who drop their clothes off here will receive special attention." . . . Maj. Bill Hartley, Britain's top bomb disposal expert, on retiring from the army last month, said: "I'll miss the bombs. It sounds strange but I like bombs. I'm sure going to have a lump in my throat whenever I read of some blighter dealing with them."

BRITISH FOREIGN SECY. Lord Home told the Harvard commencement: "As a partner in the Anglo-American alliance, I always find it stimulating to visit my American constituency. Upon my arrival this time, I received a telegram from one of my admirers. It read: 'Please drop dead. Offensive letter follows.'" . . . Pete Seeger, who commenced from Harvard in 1940, was invited by the Student Council of his alma mater to give a concert. But because he has been convicted of contempt of Congress for refusing to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities Committee (he is appealing), Harvard officials barred the concert. After an undergraduate uproar the ban was lifted and Seeger performed to a capacity audience. Harvard **Alumni Bulletin** reported: "At the conclusion of the program, the audience paid tribute to his music and his courage in a ten-minute spontaneous demonstration." . . . From **Drug & Cosmetic Industry:** "We have felt for a long time that we are entering an era where hardly anybody will have the color hair that their ancestors set aside for them. American chemistry is doing such a wonderful job in hair coloring that there is no reason why the American woman, who is now so meticulous in matching such things as purses, gloves and shoes, ought not to match her hair with every new dress or purse or shoe or glove she acquires."

United Mine Workers Journal
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FOR THE DEPARTMENT of How Times Have Changed, Or Have They? is this set of office rules posted by a Massachusetts carriage works in 1872:

- Office employes will daily sweep the floors, dust the furniture, shelves and showcases.
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- Men employes will be given an evening off each week for courting purposes, or two evenings a week if they go regularly to church.
- After an employe has spent his 13 hours of labor in the office, he should spend the remaining time reading the Bible and other good books.
- Every employe should lay aside from each pay a goodly sum of his earnings for his benefit during his declining years, so that he will not become a burden on society or his betters.
- Any employe who smokes Spanish cigars, uses liquor in any form or frequents pool and public halls, or gets shaved in a barber shop will give me good reason to suspect his worth, intentions, integrity and honesty.
- The employe who has performed his labors faithfully and without fault for five years, will be given an increase of 5 cents per day in his pay, providing profits from the business permits it.

—Robert E. Light

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GBS does not claim expertness in the photographic industry, but in the year that we have handled camera equipment we became convinced that the FUJICA line offers the best values in the under-$100 class. All of the cameras shown here have integral light meters coupled to the shutters, assuring perfect exposures with films of virtually any speed. They are beautifully built, easy to handle. Complete repair facilities are maintained in New York in case you damage your camera. Best of all, there is a wide range of products for your particular preference, and a complete line of accessories for those who want to make picture-taking a more serious hobby.

We heartily recommend these products to you as the best that can be obtained for the money. We are, by the way, unable to advertise our GBS prices. Write us and we'll send you the prices by return mail.

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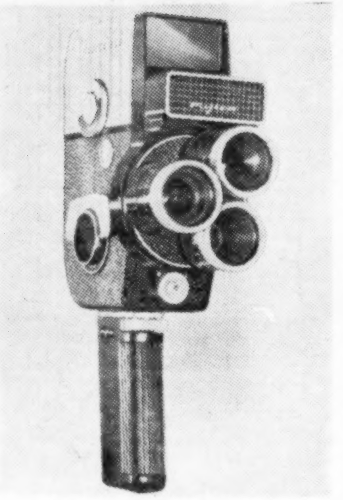

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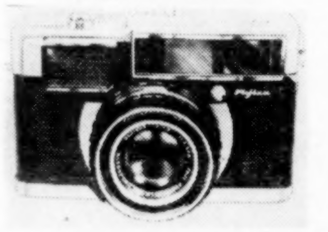
35 mm Cameras



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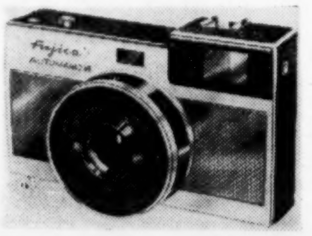

NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

100 million children

PEKING

IN A WORLD WHERE MORE than 20 wars, big and small, are going on at present, plus sundry assassinations and beatings—from South Africa to Alabama—it was a relief to go on a Sunday morning to the Peking Children's Palace and see more than 10,000 normal and happy children having a whale of a good time. The Chinese celebrate June 1 as International Children's Day, and as far as I could discover, this is one celebration where no long propaganda speeches are made.

Though I caught sight of some spell-binders—heads of the Women's Association seen normally on rostrums with a battery of mikes—they were being politely applauded by a thousand youngsters as they took front seats to watch the acrobats. Having briefly hailed their noted visitors, the children watched the show again.

If you ever get the chance to see Chinese acrobats and jugglers, do it. I shall not pause to record their marvels. My major interest was in the children, in bright summer clothes, all seated neatly on handkerchiefs spread on the ground. I saw two acts, each about five minutes. Then I moved on to another show.

THERE WERE a dozen such shows at the same time on different stages in the pine groves around the Children's Palace, part of the old Imperial Palace in Coal Hill Park. A ballet in one, a children's chorus in another, a puppet show in a third. The best dancers, acrobats and puppeteers in Peking came to perform. But most of the kids were not in the seated audiences. They were taking part in games all over the park.

I never knew there were so many kinds of games. Simple ones, mostly, involving quick perception, balance and skill. All in the open air, and each with its quota of youngsters. Here there were six children about 7 years old around a table, giving advice and waiting their turn at a box of blocks that, if fitted properly, make a picture. Here were ten 9-year-olds trying in turn to drop two pingpong balls, one from each hand, into two holes in a board.

Here there were 20 rows of Indian clubs, eight to a row and two feet apart, and at each row a short line of children were taking turns to see who could weave in and out of the clubs as long as possible, carrying a pingpong ball on a pingpong bat, without letting the ball drop or upsetting an India club. It took some doing, for every bend in the path shifted the balance of the ball.

WHAT STRUCK ME most was the kind of order. In all that moving crowd of more than 10,000 children, you never had to push. They were all moving, and there were always spaces and they always let you through. The youngsters were all in groups, with parents or teachers. All laughing and happy, but nobody yelling. I didn't see a child whine or cry or push.

Certainly they were full of energy and glowing with health. As they jumped about in summer clothes and sandals, you could see their pink-tanned legs above the knees. They were straight legs—no rickets, good underpinning for walks. Remarkable after a winter right in the center of the grain shortage. Peking has cared for its children well.

The kids themselves have helped in the "caring." They have dug their vegetable gardens and carried buckets of water from the faucets in compounds, on alleys and curbs. Vegetable gardens all over the city have been turning out peas, spinach, cabbage and other produce for more than a month. This is the third dry spring and again the winter wheat isn't worth much. Yet never was the diet more varied than now.

THE PEKING CHILDREN'S PALACE was only one of 20 centers in the city. Some children were going to the zoo, others to the Summer Palace. Twenty thousand were at the stadium to see the world's table tennis champions. All over China, 100 million children were celebrating in about the same way. The primary schools of China have 96 million pupils; the kindergartens add nearly 12 million more. These are the two groups Children's Day features. Leaving out the smallest and others who may stay away for various reasons, there must be 100 million net. All playing, as you note, rather creatively.

In Harbin the Children's Railway carried 2,000 passengers over its mile and a half of track, with the small locomotive and cars made especially for children. It is run by primary school kids in spare hours and has had half a million passengers to date. In a Tientsin ward, 1,800 children met with nearby peasants and gave them a water pump and other gifts bought from their savings and from earnings through after-school jobs.

In Nanking a large group of "young artists" met with a famous painter, who showed them brush techniques. A group of "young astronomers" gathered around a noted astronomer for a talk on "space flight."

Faraway Lhasa reports that Tibet now has 30,000 children in primary schools—there were only two schools and less than 1,000 pupils two years ago. . . . And a children's experimental garden in North Shensi boasts that its 7-to-10-year-olds have grafted cotton plants on sunflowers and other plants and produced cotton bolls in yellow, pink and green.

One hundred million such children may do a lot to save our world!

—Anna Louise Strong